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ABSTRACT

A growing perception among those who have examined teacher education programs is that such programs, particularly those aspects that occur on campus, have not met expectations. Proposals for innovation in teacher education are not in short supply. What is most problematic is incorporating such changes into the institutional life of faculties of education. A study identified how changes occurred in 10 Canadian Faculties of Education and how various influences, such as government policy and faculty governance, interacted with and influenced those changes. Changes were analyzed using Bryden's notion of policy spirals and Chinn and Benne's classification of change strategies. The faculties were found to be far more immune to external pressures than other institutions. In terms of change strategies, both power coercive and normative re-educative strategies were in evidence, but rational empirical strategies were not. Study results contribute both toward the information about how program and organizational change should be managed in higher education as well as the more theoretical questions of governance and organization. (Author/JMK)

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Program and Organizational Change in Faculties of Education: Some Lessons for Survival

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Program and Organizational Change in Faculties of Education
Some Lessons for Survival

Changes occurring in ten Canadian Faculties of Education were analysed using Bryden's notion of policy spirals and Chinn and Benne's classification of change strategies. The faculties were found to be far more immune to external pressures than other institutions. In terms of change strategies both power coercive and normative reeducative strategies were in evidence, but rational empirical strategies were not. The results of the study contribute both toward the information about how program and organizational change should be managed in higher education as well as the more theoretical questions of governance and organization.

Program and Organizational Change in Faculties of Education: Some Lessons for Survival

1. Introduction

Examination of organizational and programmatic change in faculties of education is critical because the survival and well-being of those institutions are currently at issue. In the late 70's we saw a series of predictions about a short life span for faculties of education unless radical changes were forthcoming (Ellis, 1976, Clark, 1977). Now, only a few years later, we see some of these predictions coming true. The struggle to survive in a viable, productive form will be a factor in the decade ahead both for individual teacher training institutions and for teacher education in general. Those who bring us these storm warnings contend that in its present form teacher education is, and will continue to be, vulnerable if it does not deal more adequately with a whole range of problems to which the preparation of teachers is central.

Within the university context, faculties of education have enjoyed considerable freedom to develop programs for the preparation of teachers. A growing perception among those who have examined teacher education as well as a number of groups in society is that such programs, particularly those aspects that occur on campus, have not met expectations (Haberman, 1971; Koerner, 1963). Pressures are therefore being brought to bear on faculties of education to improve in virtually every aspect of teacher preparation. The perils of retaining the status quo in faculties of education are obvious. The preparation of teachers could be accomplished through requiring an arts and science degree and an extended internship, an option being considered in many

jurisdictions. This option would eliminate the present role played by faculties of education.

Proposals for innovation in teacher education are not in short supply. What is most problematic is incorporating such changes into the institutional life of faculties of education. This concern gave rise to a study which sought to identify how changes occur in faculties of education and how various influences such as government policy and faculty governance interact with and influence such change. As such, the study which we report in this paper was an attempt to explain what occurs in faculties of education in terms of policy and program development. It was part of a larger project which investigated several aspects of teacher education.

Specifically this paper has five objectives:

1. to review the appropriate literature relative to the study;
2. to identify the major changes that had occurred in ten faculties of education in Anglophone Canada during the past two decades;
3. to analyse the major changes from two perspectives: Bryden's notion of policy spirals (1974) and Chinn and Benne's classification of general strategies for effecting changes in human systems (1976); and
4. on the basis of these analyses, to identify a set of conditions necessary for effective program development to occur in faculties of education.

This paper is divided into six sections. We first discuss the background to the study, placing it within a larger context. The conceptual framework used in the analysis is then outlined followed by the changes in teacher education that we identified as occurring in Canada. We then discuss our analysis in section 5. In the final two sections we identify the factors that we saw influencing the change process in faculties of education and draw some conclusions from the study.

2. Background

The British experience during that country's period of restraint (Rogers, 1978) was that those institutions which adapted and which were able to offer new programs in tough times were typically the ones that survived those times. This very practical perspective was one that informed the study. It was thought that at a time when faculties of education and indeed the concept of teacher education itself within a university context were struggling to survive, an understanding of how program change and implementation occurs would be very useful information.

Concerns about teacher education are nested within the larger context of higher education. In a paper presented to an OECD conference in Paris in 1973, Cerych & Papadopoulos offered this comment with regard to post secondary institutions

> A feeling of mounting uncertainty about the future development of higher education persists in most OECD countries. At the heart of it lie the strains created by the massive growth of individual demand for higher education, the inability of the system to adapt and make itself relevant to this largely autonomous demand, and the all-round failure to establish satisfactory relationships between the higher education system, the aspirations of students, and the needs and absorptive capacity of society for qualified people. There is, in consequence, a manifest urgency in the drive within Member countries towards structural reform of the entire post-secondary sector. (p. 17)

They conclude their paper by stating that more attention should be paid to structural transformation and change in higher education. It is interesting, however, that their emphasis was on structural changes in institutions. No mention was made in their paper or in any other papers presented to that conference about what actually was to occur within those structural changes. This underlines a serious failing in higher education. That is, we have assumed that structural change will lead to actual changes in the way the

essential functions of the institution are carried out. This does not appear to occur, as problems, habits and traditional ways of doing things persist despite changes in structure.

The concern about reform in teacher education has given rise to a number of studies in North America and Western Europe. A brief description of their character will help to provide a backdrop for this study. One group of case studies, sponsored by IMTEC,[1] examined the change process occurring as innovations were developed and introduced into faculties of education. The central device for conducting this examination was Lewins' force field analysis which provides a structure for delineating the forces for and against the innovation. These studies contributed a great deal to the technology of bringing about change; their heuristic nature made them very appealing as learning devices. Also, these case studies provided a good balance between the human relations approach (a social psychological approach focusing on the individual and peer group relations) and the political systems perspective (emphasis on the environment and the dynamic feature of the organization) (Baldridge, 1972).

A second group of studies sponsored by IMTEC involved the use of data feedback as a technology for stimulating self-initiated change. Eighteen such case studies were examined by the staff at IMTEC (Wideen, in preparation). These cases provided a great deal of insight into the difficulty of action planning for change.

A third example is the work of Joyce and Weil (1972), who examined several reforms in teacher education occurring in the United States. Apple (1972) offered a critique of those programs arguing that they led to a

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[1] IMTEC (International Movement Toward Educational Change) is an international network with headquarters in Oslo, Norway (Per Dalin, Director).

conservative approach. While these works have provided an essential beginning to examining the change processes in higher education their anecdotal and unsystematic analyses have been limiting factors to improving our understanding of the change process in faculties of education.

3. A Conceptual Framework

Baldridge (1972) has contrasted two approaches to the study of organizational change, the human relations approach and the political systems perspective. The human relations approach is social psychological in nature, focusing on the individual and on peer group relations. Much of the thrust behind this approach has been the reduction of conflict and changing the organization to meet the needs of the individual. The difficulty with this approach, he contends, is the transition from the individual to the group and then to the organization. In contrast, the political systems approach emphasizes the dynamic features of the organization, assuming that conflict is natural, that power elites govern most decisions and that external groups have a great deal of influence. This perspective contends that the theory of power is more important than the theory of bureaucracy or that of interpersonal relations. In seeking to examine the changes occurring in faculties of education, I took the view that, in the absence of any substantive body of research which examined and analyzed change in teacher education, these two perspectives would offer a useful starting point to draw upon for the analysis used in this paper.

The Human Relations Perspective

We made use of Chin and Benne's (1976) classification of general strategies for effecting changes in human systems. Each of their three general categories, rational-empirical, normative reeducative and power coercive, contain a set of specific strategies from which we selected those

that seemed appropriate for our analysis. In developing this categorization, Chin and Benne limited themselves to those models in which changes were planned as conscious, deliberate efforts. This implies that those involved in the various changes are in control.

The rational-empirical strategy is most frequently used by men and women of knowledge who assume that people are rational and that they will follow their rational self interest once this is revealed to them. If a change can be shown to be desirable and effective to a teacher, then the argument goes, that a person will adopt the proposed change. Scientific investigation and research come under this general strategy.

We used the systems analysis typified by Havelock's model for change as a model for this strategy. This strategy seemed an appropriate exemplar of the rational-empirical approach which assumes that "men are guided by reason and that they will utilize some rational calculus of self-interest in determining needed changes in behavior" (Chin and Benne, 1976, p. 24).

In contrast, the normative reeducative set of strategies assumes persons to be inherently active, in pursuit of impulse and need satisfaction, responding to a normative culture. Chin and Benne identify several common elements among the variants of this family of strategies. Among them are three which are particularly germane to our analysis. First, emphasis is placed on individuals or groups working in programs of change for themselves. The problems of change lie in attitudes, norms, and various relationships of people in a system; nonconscious elements which impede problem solving must first be brought into consciousness and publicly examined. Third, those committed to this family of change strategies see the person as the basic unit of social organization and change.

The power-coercive strategies emphasize political and economic power as a means by which to achieve social change. Such power may come in the form of sanctions on those who break the law, and moral power which plays on the sentiments of guilt and shame. In either case, such strategies, typically wielded by those who can impose political or economic power, tend to legitimize certain courses of action.

The Political Systems Perspective

For a number of years, social scientists have attempted to identify determinants of policy within institutions of higher education and government. In a recent paper entitled "The Political Economy of Educational Reform," Pierce identifies three phases to that research (1981). Early efforts tried to explain levels of government and institutional activity by correlating inputs and outputs. The second stage, beginning in the 1970s, tried to develop models to explain why resources were allocated as they were. Pierce's third and most recent stage asks, "How do specific policy instruments affect the organization and procedures through which public programs are provided?" (Pierce, p. 1). In other words, those interested in the governance of higher education are no longer satisfied with the inputs and outputs; rather, they now want to know what goes on inside "the black box" in terms of how policies and programs are developed and carried out.

Dror's experience in government lends support to Pierce's notion about the importance of examining policy formation up close, and also provides a note of caution about what can be expected in a study of the type reported on in this paper. Dror was a political scientist who spent seven years in government. After this period he made the claim that policy making is too complex a process to be understood by shallow probing from outside. He asserts that his experience in government was invaluable in learning how the

inner system really works in terms of policy making. This view from the inside is essentially the black box in policy making that Pierce refers to.

To analyse the changes we identified in our study from the political systems perspective we used Bryden's (1974) notion of policy spirals, which he developed through an analysis of how governmental policy developed. He uses three interwoven, yet conceptually distinct components: policy process, policy design, and policy outcome. The focal point is the policy design which refers to a course of action deliberately chosen and implemented to effect desired consequences. A policy design emerges within a political system which is a complex set of interacting variables in continuous interaction with the environment. Boundary exchanges come in the form of inputs (demands or supports) and outputs. Thus, certain wants or demands in the environment cross the boundary into the political system when they become an issue. Under certain conditions an issue may result in policy formation within that system. For purposes of our analysis, the faculty of education is viewed as a political system, everything outside is its environment, and decision made by the faculty in the form of program changes, are viewed as policy designs. Policy outcomes are then those programs designed to respond to whatever issue was created by the initial pressure or demand.

Bryden notes that most environmental wants do not become articulated as demands on the political system. Many are reduced by the systems culture or simply do not pass through the boundary and into the system. A demand will not enter the system unless articulated by an actor within the system and will then likely meet opposition. As a demand makes progress it becomes an issue; it is in response to issues that policies are made.

Bryden also used the notion of incrementalism and innovation as contrasting modes. Incrementalism, a notion systematically described by

Lindblom (cited in Bryden) as a series of mutual adjustments or an "endless sequence of small accretions to and adaptions of existing policies" (Bryden, 1974, p. 16). In contrast are the policy innovations which are exceptions to process of gradualism. These two concepts are similar to Kuhn's notion of normal and revolutionary science. During a period of normal science one would expect incrementalism to occur. A policy innovation involving a major shift in practice would be akin to what Kuhn has called a paradigm shift occuring during a period of revolutionary science.

Applying a model based on political systems having ultimate legislature powers, to an organization in the public sector not having such powers, is bound to produce shortcomings. Universities can only act within the sphere of higher education determined by legislative bodies beyond their control. While governments too work within constitutions, they do possess greater power to change the rules if they so desire. Despite this shortcoming inherent in applying the model, its application hopefully will help to further our understanding of change within faculties of education, the purpose of this exercise.

4. Changes in Canadian Teacher Education

To identify the ongoing changes in Canadian teacher education we analysed programs, policy documents, interdepartmental memoranda, and transcripts of interviews. The policy documents reviewed for this report were gathered as part of a general survey in which 49 teacher training institutions in the country were asked to send research reports and policy related materials. Several policy oriented papers were obtained through this process including commissioned reports, background statements for program changes, outlines of issues within institution, and papers dealing with policy related matters. A search for published papers was also conducted. Interviews were conducted

with a small sample (N = 4-6) persons in each of 10 institutions in Canada as well as key informants in several other Canadian instituions. In a number of cases telephone interviews were conducted as follow ups to published and unpublished reports.

Through this analysis we identified a number of changes that had occurred in Canadian teacher education over the past 30 years. For purposes of this paper we have selected three for our analysis -- the move to the university campus, introduction of an extended practicum, and development of a closer link between theory and practice. These three changes were deliberately planned by those involved to effect reform in teacher preparation.

From Normal School to University Campus.

Among the most significant changes to occur in teacher education in the past few decades has been the shift from a college/normal school setting to the university campus. This trend which Cushman (1977) identifies as having occurred in the United States between 1860-1910, and which is still occurring in some European countries, is now largely complete in Canada, at least in a physical sense. The move to university campus in Canada occurred during the period of the early 1940's to the late 60's; Newfoundland was among the first to institute this change at Memorial University in 1945. In the same year legislation enacted in Alberta saw the change from normal school to university campus at both Calgary and Edmonton. The faculty of education at the University of British Columbia was founded in 1956 (Coffe, 1969). In Ontario, the then Minister of Education, William Davis, acting on recommendations of the MacLeod report announced legislation that would provide for the transfer of teacher training from normal schools to universities in 1966 (Myers & Saul, 1974).

This change has probably been the single most significant organizational change to occur in teacher education. As a result of the change the training of teachers now occurs entirely in university settings with students pursuing either a concurrent program where they blend their education coursework over a period of time with academic coursework or a consecutive program where a year of professional work is concentrated within one year period of a degree program. Faculties of education in many universities now provide courses of a general nature in education which are taken by students in other faculties. An example of this is the common first year instituted in the Province of Alberta where all students pursue a set of common courses prior to selecting a faculty of their choice. Courses in education are part of this first year.

The change has not been without its problems. The intent to which the change in setting has resulted in changes in the practice of training teachers is an unresolved issue in most provinces. Many faculties of education compete poorly within the university community for both respect and resources, and in some cases retain most aspects of the normal school. In some provinces, the problems experienced in implementing the change were particularly difficult. The problems encountered in Ontario are discussed later in this report because they highlight certain issues with respect to the change process.

The move of teacher training to the university campus occurred partly to insure a better quality of student entering teaching. But the ultimate justification for the move rested on the conviction that "... the university provides a setting and an atmosphere in which fundamental issues can be examined critically, fresh alternatives can be explored, and promising, imaginative programs can be developed" (Myers and Saul, 1974, p. 38). Despite the problems of implementation and despite the fact that in many cases faculties of education compete poorly both in terms of respect and resources

within the university community (Buckmaster, 1976), the change has been a major one for teacher education in Canada.

The Lengthened Practicum

A characteristic change in many faculties of education in Canada has been lengthened practical experience, in the form of either an extended practicum or internship. Prior to this change students had been required to spend from six to nine weeks in student teaching; after the change the length was increased to three to five months. The rationale for the lengthened practicum is based on the conviction that a more effective blend of theory and practice (Allen, 1976; Michelson and Pearce, 1976) will occur. A concomitant factor in the lengthened field experience in most cases has been a much greater involvement of teachers, school administrators, and, in some cases trustees and teacher unions, in the planning and supervision of the student's school experience.

Simon Fraser (Ellis, 1968) and York University (Overing, 1973) are illustrations of how this change was instituted when new faculties of education were established. Both provided for a full semester of student teaching preceeded by an early entry experience for students. In the case of York which involved a five year concurrent program, students upon registration in the Faculty of Education spent one day a week in the schools. The Simon Fraser program, which was a consecutive program of three semesters' duration, placed students in the schools immediately upon entry into the program. The lengthened practicum produced a second distinguishing feature which was a greater reliance on teachers to prepare students for the profession. Both programs seconded master teachers to conduct seminars and to supervise students in the schools.[2] In addition, it was recognized that the teachers in

[2] These teachers are called adjunct professors at York and Faculty Associates

whose classrooms students did their practice teaching would be expected to teach many of the skills and methods previously taught in methods courses. A third distinguishing feature more prevalent at York than Simon Fraser was the increased dependence and cooperation between the education faculty and other departments in the University. In the case of York, secondments from other departments to the faculty were made for two and three year periods. The persons developing the programs at York and Simon Fraser were quite explicit in identifying the weaknesses of existing programs and in offering their new alternatives as solutions to those weaknesses (Ellis, 1969; Overing, 1973).

The lengthened practicum was the key to a new program introduced at the University of Victoria to replace the traditional teacher preparation program for graduates from other faculties (Michelson & Pearce, 1976). The impetus for the program grew out of a concern over a lack of involvement by school people in planning and developing the students' experience and a lack of career opportunities for graduates. The new program involved a combined school/ university experience in which students spent a full school semester in practice teaching. On campus course work occurred in the summers preceeding and following that year.

Improving the Link Between Theory and Practice

One of the intentions of the lengthened practicum was to improve the link between theory and practice. Little evidence seems to exist that this has in fact occurred as a direct result of the change. Providing a better integration of theory and practice has been the impetus behind a number of innovative programs. In the innovations examined, attempts have been made to find and provide a better mix of faculty input and school experience. But the innovative programs examined have sought to do more than simply blend the

two. Deliberate attempts have been made to make the theoretical components more practical, to include others such as teachers, principals and university colleagues in the act of preparing teachers, and to engage students and cooperating teachers in joint efforts to enhance the practical experience.

One of the earliest of such attempts was reported by Myer Horowitz (1974) who, responding to what he termed the two solitudes in which field experience is thought to be divorced from academic input, developed project MEET (McGill Elementary Education Teaching-Teams) in 1967. Nineteen university graduates were involved in a program which combined on-campus lectures and seminars with school experience on a weekly basis. School principals and teachers were encouraged to participate in the planning, execution and evaluation of the program. He conducted interviews with the students at the end of one year and three year periods. In both cases students spoke very positively of the program which led Horowitz to conclude:

> Many specific program plans can be developed ... but they are far less crucial than the need to develop a total teacher education program that will enable the future teacher, with help from professionals in the schools and at the university, to integrate what he learns into his developing concept of the role of the teacher (Horowitz, 1975, p. 73).

A somewhat similar pilot program was introduced in the University of Regina five years later where, again, field experience and course work were provided in a more flexible mix to overcome the problems of integrating theory and practice (Malikail et al., 1973). By 1976, this program had grown to encompass all students being prepared for teaching at the elementary school in that institution. As part of the new program, a full semester of internship was included.

The two examples just described at McGill and the University of Regina were initiated by individuals within the institution. At the University of British Columbia, on the other hand, an institutional strategy was adopted by a new Dean who proposed that individuals and groups be encouraged to plan alternative programs in a 'broken front' approach to change within the faculty. The result was the introduction of nine new programs in 1973, four of which remain at the time this report was prepared (Hersom, 1976). Typically these programs involved greater contact with the field, a more flexible mix of faculty input and field experience, and a much more intensive contact between faculty and student (Worthen et al., 1975).

The concept of integration, prevalent in all the examples, cited thus far, was the central theme of a revised program initiated at the University of Alberta for the preparation of secondary science teachers (Kass et al., 1979). The integration involved a closer articulation between curriculum and instruction courses and student teaching than had been achieved in the past. Also, seminars were initiated for cooperating teachers, faculty consultants and university instructors to jointly plan for supervision and curriculum development activities which would jointly enhance the classroom teacher and the student teaching experience. This innovation occurred within the context of a faculty wide program development activity where data have been collected on the perceived adequacy of many aspects of the faculty's programs. This information is being used to bring about numerous changes within that institution (Patterson, 1979).

5. The Analysis

In doing our analysis we asked the question, does a particular strategy or approach account for the change that occurred? Our intent, at least in this section, was not to adopt an evaluative (is the change of worth) or

normative (what should the change have been) stance but rather an empirical one which asks, can we account for the change that occurred?

The move of teacher education from the teachers colleges to university campuses came about through the use of power coercive strategies. Certainly this was the case insofar as the structural move was concerned. The extent to which the move has accomplished its purposes has been a function of the extent to which other strategies of a normative reeducative nature have been used. The limitations of only relying on power coercive approaches are illustrated by this change in Canada in general and by the Ontario experience in particular.

In that province, government legislation was used to effect reform in teacher education. Acting on recommendations from the MacLeod report released in 1966, Mr. William Davis, the Minister of Education, announced in the legislature in 1967 that the government was embarking on what would likely be the most significant development in teacher education in Ontario in this century: the moving of teacher education from colleges to the university campuses. However, only four years later in 1971 Robert Welch announced the suspension of negotiations between the Department of Education and the universities pending further review, thereby acknowledging the failure of the policy (Myers & Saul, 1974). During the intervening five years only five universities had signed agreements with the Department for the transfer of teacher education to their respective jurisdictions. In those, developments were still at an embryonic stage as teacher training was very much separate from university life. In their analyses as to why the policy had failed, Myers and others (Myers and Saul, 1974; Smitheram and Hillis, 1974) identify three plausible explanations. First, there was the failure on the part of the Ministry to provide an implementation committee, a recommendation of the

McLeod report. This committee was to be made up of a representative group who would oversee and advise on the integration process. Secondly, the financial problems overtook the events in Ontario and prevented new and imaginative directions. By 1971, education was no longer seen as a panacea for all social ills. School enrolments were declining and teacher shortage had become a teacher surplus. Thus, certain opportunities were lost because the government failed to provide adequate funding for experimentation, development, and maintenance. Third, there was a tendency to under-estimate the complexity of the situation; Myers (1974) describes this in his cryptic comment

> the reorganization shambles demonstrates above all that the very real differences of attitude and interest that exist among those involved in teacher education can not be evaded or glossed over. Those differences must be reorganized, fundamental issues identified and ... province wide guidelines worked out. This can only be worked out on a voluntary basis (p.48).

Myers is directing this comment at the Ministry and the universities, both of whom in his opinion carried out the implementation in something less than an exemplary approach. The Ontario experience is reviewed here mainly because the experience had been documented. The so-called failure of the move in that province compared with other provinces was more a function of timing and exposure. It is highly unlikely that other provinces fared much better in terms of adjusting the norms of its faculty to the university setting.

What one learns from this change, illustrated by the Ontario experience is the importance of timing, the need for implementatin strategies, the complexity of such a change, and the need for multiple strategies to achieve intended purposes. Nowhere have we found evidence that provision has been made to assist those who moved from the normal school setting to the university to change their role. In fact, it has never been clearly stated

just what were to be the expectations for the newly transplanted faculty members. Now some two decades later, those in faculties of education are exhibiting a quite different role from their counterparts in previous teachers college settings. However, the perception of those who have observed the transition[3] is that it is the younger faculty members who are exhibiting a changed role, not those who began in the teachers' college.

In this connection one could posit two possibilities. On the one hand, it may be that roles cannot be changed. Once people settle into an institution and develop the necessary survival habits for which they achieve appropriate rewards they simply do not develop new patterns of behavior. On the other hand, with reference to the move from teacher college to university, the possibility is that appropriate strategies were never tried. The type of normative reeducative strategies were never given an opportunity to flourish.

The introduction of innovative programs which have developed across Canada provide some insight into how new programs tend to be shaped and examples of the process of incrementalism. The programs at Simon Fraser, and York were different from their counterparts in the outset. In both instances the programs were reactions against perceived weaknesses and pitfalls in extant programs (Overing, 1976; Ellis; 1969). However, the rationale for their development went deeper than simply redressing the problems being encountered in extant problems. From a perusal of documents and interviews, it is quite clear that those responsible for earlier planning were implementing what were thought to be effective pedagogical practices which were receiving commendation in the literature and being piloted in certain places.

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[3] We conducted several interviews with selected individuals who experienced the transition from teacher's college to university.

The move from the normal school to the university illustrates the ultimate power that exists external to faculties of education. Government legislation created these faculties and it could change them back to normal schools, a move that has been proposed from time to time in high places. The fact that the move to the university campus was a change in structure rather than a change in substance and normative behavior illustrates the interplay between paradigmatic shifts and incrementalism. Evidence suggests that it is only now, some 20 years after the move from normal school to university campus, that faculties have adopted the norms of the university. This change in normative behavior has occurred as a result of a series of endless, gradual adjustments to a policy imposed from the outside. As we argued earlier, perhaps most change in this regard has occurred as a result of new appointments. The change to a longer practicum falls quite nicely into this model in some cases but not in others.

Extending the Practicum

The move to an extended practicum appeared to occur as a result of different change strategies depending on the time period and the local situation. At the University of Regina an extended practicum was first introduced at the secondary level. The idea of a lengthened practicum, not patterned after any particular model, seemed to be a more effective means of providing a realistic assessment of students preparing for the secondary school. A committee of Department of Education officials, trustees and teacher representatives worked with the faculty in planning and implementing the program. The faculty involved, along with the committee, worked through the problems and the design in what appeared to be normative reeducative process. By the time the implementation phase began a high degree of commitment had been engendered among those whose support was necessary. The

implementation occurred smoothly and the program remains largely intact today. Other programs in Saskatchewan have introduced an extended practicum based on this model with some variation. It is interesting that at no time in that province have strategies been employed which might be seen as being power-coercive with regard to the extended practicum. At about the same time other universities -- York, Lethbridge and Simon Fraser -- also introduced the extended practicum as part of new programs. In all three cases, it appears that those involved in the planning saw it as a more effective means to prepare teachers. In all three cases, evidence exists to suggest that the extended practicum along with other program elements represented attempts to redress the pitfalls of existing practices of preparing teachers, all of which employed the short three week student teaching period. In interviews with planners in these three universities it appears that strategies varied according to the groups with whom access was necessary and groups who potentially opposed the change.

The initiation of the extended practicum in Regina was not done because of specific wants or demands in the environment such as the need for an extended practicum. Certainly, there was some pressure for an improved program in secondary education; but not in the form of what Bryden calls wants and demands. Rather, the introduction of the lengthened practicum was the brainchild of a small group of key actors within the faculty who saw it as a means of improving the preparation of teachers. Its introduction represented a fairly major paradigmatic shift in that province as today all teachers being trained in Saskatchewan are involved in an internship or lengthened practicum experience.

In contrast to the rather orderly spread of the lengthened practicum in Saskatchewan through the two institutions providing teacher education, its

resistance in other provinces illustrates one of the major differences between faculties of education as political systems and other bodies. Despite pressures from teacher groups, the two major universities in Alberta did not institute the notion until forced to by government legislation. In British Columbia the introduction of the extended practicum occurred at Simon Fraser in 1965. The consensus seems to exist that the lengthened practicum has been highly successful in that institution. Despite such evidence and the external pressure of two commissioned reports (British Columbia, 1960; McGregor, 1978) the University of British Columbia has not been predisposed to move toward a policy of extending the practicum for all it students. It would appear that faculties of education as policy systems are far more immune to public pressure than many other institutions in society. This undoubtedly stems from the culture of faculties. Hierarchy of authority is simply not as functional within them as one might expect it to be in a government organization. Also, responding to environmental pressure is not compatible with one of the objectives of academic life: to provide an ongoing critique of society and what it is doing. As academicians, many faculty members might well see their role as opposing the thoughts which emerge from the coalescing of common sense and folklore. Clearly, the extended practicum is not based on empirical data but rather the notion that teachers can best learn to teach by working with teachers for an extended period; a notion based more on common sense and mythology than on data.

Integrating Theory and Practice

The integration of theory and practice was a different type of change than the two previous ones examined. It was incremental and initiated solely by faculty members within the institution. There was little external influence, apart from a healthy body of literature, to encourage the change.

Typically, the change was initiated by single individuals or small groups of people. Two case studies are singled out for discussion because they represent individual initiation but also illustrate how other strategies are employed in one case to involve the faculty as a whole and in the other to provide shelter conditions for individuals to take the initiative.

The new elementary program at the University of Regina grew on an incremental basis over a two year period. The early beginnings came as a result of a faculty member returning from having received a Ph.D. who initiated something called an Experience Bank program. This received sufficient support to be adopted on a trial basis. Traditional methods courses and the field experience were collapsed. The growth of this experience to a full blown elementary program did not occur without faculty opposition since traditional values were threatened and workload was increased considerably. What saw the change through its many incremental stages was the omnipresence of a director who used his influence to shelter the program but also encouraged faculty members to achieve the goal of a new program.[4] It would appear then that a combination of power coercive and normative reeducative strategies were employed.

The second example involves the introduction of new programs at the University of British Columbia. The appointment of a new Dean, sweeping new changes in government, and new experimental programs in the schools provided a backdrop for an innovative climate in the faculty. Hersom (1976) described the nature and tone of the change:

> These external factors were balanced by an assumption on the part of the new administration that there is no one best way to prepare teachers, and this provided a philosophical means by which the notion of alternatives in teacher education was easy

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[4] These data were gained through interviews and partly through participant observation.

> to come by. Consequently, while continuing the regular teacher preparation programme, a number of alternative programmes were developed on a broken-front approach. That is, individuals and groups within the Faculty were encouraged to develop and plan alternatives and subsequently, nine alternative programmes were operationalized. Two important supplementary outcomes were anticipated: (i) a reduction in the tendency for a large Faculty to become impersonal; and (ii) the initial involvement of only those individuals who were ready and willing to develop change patterns (p. 4).

A characteristic of the new programs introduced in that faculty was a more effective blend of theory and practice.

In studying faculty minutes, which essentially represent the policy statement of the body itself, one is hard pressed to find much that responds to environmental pressure. Typically, in proposing new courses or programs, reference is made to outside groups and frequently outside groups are involved in planning. But one gains the distinct impression that policies formulated within faculties of education are more likely to reflect the impulses and needs satisfactions of those within the institutions rather than to respond to problems external to the system. In other words, faculty do not passively wait for pressure from the environment in order to act. Typically, they respond to their own set of meanings and norms and then draw upon the environment for support. This is not to suggest that many of these changes are not highly beneficial to the outside community. But, unlike industry, and in some instances government, who might respond to external pressures by translating demands into policies in a fairly direct way, those in faculties of education, because of their perceived independent role, supported by the notion of academic freedom, are far more likely to torque such demands to meet their own needs, whether that be academic or political.

University positions were never intended to provide service to external bodies. The response of persons within those positions to external pressures

must be seen in that light. A further point is evident from the study of minutes from faculties of education. Any changes emanating from within an institution, at least those recorded in minutes, are rarely paradigmatic but rather incremental and all too frequently inconsequential. The endless debate that can occur during a faculty meeting concerning the placing of a word or comma testifies to the inconsequential nature of many changes, or more appropriately, insignificant events, which are elevated through labelling them as changes.

6. Factors Influencing Change

How then does one implement change in a faculty of education? Our analysis identified six factors which must be operative if a change of magnitude is to occur. Further, we contend that if any of the six factors are not in effect the chances of a change occurring are remote. The six factors are the following:

- the presence of external influence
- the exercising of power within the institution
- the provision of shelter conditions
- a formal or informal structure to act as a capacity for change
- the presence of key players
- receptive groups both within and outside the institution

External Influence

Karl Marx once said, man creates his own history, but not on his own terms. To some extent faculties of education create their own history, but certainly not on their own terms. Some (Hopkins, 1980) have argued that change always occurs as a result of external pressure. While most changes that we analyzed could be traced to the external environment the influence is not linear and certainly not as predictable as might be in the case in

governmental organizations. Those in faculties of education exhibit an enormous capability to resist external pressures which arise, in part, from the notion of academic freedom. Rather than responding to external pressure, those in faculties and indeed faculties themselves tend to use environmental influence in opportunistic ways. Despite these qualifications, pressure from the environment is important in determining the success of a change. But the environment is not a single organism or influence. Faculties of education function within different contexts which operate in different ways. We expand on three aspects of the environment that appear particularly influential in creating or facilitating change in faculties of education.

Government legislation. The impact of government in effecting structural changes is unquestioned. The move of teacher training to the university campus from the normal school, the extended practicum in Alberta, and the extension of preservice education in Saskatchewan are examples. But the impact of such legislation on program changes is questionable and for the most part nonexistant. People have an enormous capacity to continue old roles in new structures. What such governmental legislation does is to create new structures that legitimize and may influence certain moves by faculty members.

Commissioned reports. Among the most interesting materials to read are commissioned reports such as the reports on the faculties of education at the University of British Columbia (1979) and the University of Calgary (Buckmaster, 1976).

These, and other similar commission reports or reports of review committees, are typically candid and penetrating but at the same time virtually devoid of systematic data. Also, there seems to be no adequate means of collaborative follow up apart from legislative fiat. Typically, such reports are based on the concerted judgment of a few who have read prepared,

or extant, documents and who have interviewed a number of people. The impact of such reports on policy formation in teacher education is probably more extensive than that which results from government legislation, mainly because commissions and reviews committees are called upon to make reports much more frequently than governments are inclined to pass legislation. In our analysis we have linked some programmatic and organizatinal changes to such reports. However, the means by which such links are made is a very interesting point and one that deserves a more extensive analysis than that which can be accomplished in this report. It appears that commissioned reports provide the type of fuel that people within an institution may seize upon to legitimize some type of action. In and of themselves such reports are largely ineffective except in lowering moral. Our interviews in two faculties of education reveal highly detrimental effects of two such reports. The negative consequences emanating such reports point to a need for further study in this regard. Frequently, under the disguise of a blue ribbon committee inquiring into the status of teacher education in a particular jurisdiction, such commissions have become a platform for well-meaning, poorly informed, individuals who have a particular point of view to expand. In the absence of data on which to base findings, the perceptions of commissioners, however ill-informed, typically become the report.

Teacher groups. The liaison between faculties of education and school districts was not studied systematically. However, through our interviews we became aware that faculty members who felt that their institutions enjoyed close cooperation with the schools saw their programs in a more positive light. We found very few negatives instances of school/faculty collabortion. Teachers organizations on the other hand, being more politically oriented, were seen by faculty to be in competition with universities in some cases. In

particular, the desire of some provincial teachers' organizations to control certification and to gain university credit for courses they offered, were seen as threats to the universities. Other cases existed, however, of the universities and teacher groups cooperating in the preparation of teachers, particularly in the area of the practicum.

Linkage groups. The aspects of the external environment just cited are largely direct influences. Another aspect of the external environment are the contacts faculty have through linkage groups, conferences, and various types of journals and media. These contacts are influential as they affect the day to day work of faculty and as they predetermine but also the type of responses key actors make to influences in the environment. The history of science reveals a strong relationship between the areas pursued by scientists and the predominant societal interests. Similarly, forces of change deeply rooted in society likely have a considerable but little understood effect on what people in faculties of education do.

The summary point about external influence is simply that unless it is acting to support the change in question such change is unlikely to occur. Preferably all or at least a constellation of the influences just discussed should be supportive if a change is to occur.

The Exercising of Power

It is highly unlikely that a change can occur unless someone or some group is in a position to exercise power and does so on behalf of that change. Power comes in many forms, such as government legislation, interest groups, knowledge, and power of budget. All too often we think of legislation or administrative sanctions when we think of power. Rather it should be realized that power is an ingredient of all human action and that power in support of a change can emerge from any quarter. It is the particular

ingredient of power and the way that it is brought to bear on a situation which is crucial.

Shelter Conditions

Changes representing shifts in practice and as such are challenging to prevailing norms. Moreover, most changes are, in the beginning stages, less efficient or in need of time to become established. The notion of shelter conditions to protect innovations at the early stages is well documented in the literature (Dalin, 1979). The need in faculties of education is even more pronounced because of the nature of the organization. Faculties more so than schools and other organizations thrive on the notion of criticism; such criticism can destroy a new and emerging idea most effectively. Shelter conditions which may come in many forms are necessary to blunt such criticism. The most typical shelter condition is provided by an administrator who protects an innovation by the exercise of power to provide support and blunt criticism. Such was the case in Regina when the new elementary education program was in the process of being developed. The shelter conditions were provided by a sympathetic administration who was the director of field services who afforded active protection in times of need. Similarly the introduction of new programs at the University of British Columbia received the blessing of the Dean at the early stages.

Role of Key Players

In the cases we analyzed, the importance of individuals in the change process came to the surface repeatedly. We were led to conclude that if particular actors had not been present in specific institutions at particular times the changes that we documented would not have taken place. In some cases it was also evident that different key players appeared to take on a primary role such as one individual initiating a change and another

implementing that change. Also, key roles were not limited to single individuals but perhaps two or three people whose efforts overlapped.

The obvious question that this finding raises is what alternative might one expect. The literature on organizational change (Hopkins, Wideen & Fullan, in press) provides something of an alternative in this regard. In that review effective institutions were seen as those in which staffs or groups within staffs identified problems and took steps to solve those problems. The process was essentially a democratic one based on consensus seeking and commitment. In our analysis we saw little evidence of cooperative faculty planning, but a fair amount of entrepreneurship in which changes were accomplished through the efforts of elites within the faculty. This supports the contention of Baldridge cited earlier.

Certain findings from a study of perception of faculty members (Fullan, Wideen, & Eastabrook, 1983) cast light on why the role of individuals appears to be a key element in the change process in faculties of education. In that report we saw not only a lack of clarity in faculties of education but a difficulty in achieving goals. This lack of clarity involved not only program initiatives, but the organizations and personal missions as well. Leaders were perceived well but not because they offered academic leadership or managed the change process. Rather, they were seen as decent people who could manage the affairs of faculties such as meetings, schedules and status quo decision making. Taken together, these data provide a picture of a loosely coupled organization. When one further considers the climate a more gloomy picture emerges. The climate in faculties of education is negative and individualistic with tensions created by alternative presses of the practical and the academic nature of faculty activity. The picture becomes one in which the organization is not only loosely coupled but loosely coupled in a very

unhealthy way. Within such an organization the opportunity for collective action is limited and the aggressive entrepreneur is likely to flourish.

Receptive Faculty and Students

The notion of a receptive faculty and student body takes on importance with respect to faculties of education because of the academic freedom enjoyed by those in professional ranks. Such freedom provides much licence for subversion of any idea to which people are not predisposed at the beginning.

Similarly students carry much more influence than the literature seems to suggest. Jean Ruddock (in press) has argued quite convincingly with regard to public school students that they are highly influential in determining the success of an innovation. We contend on the basis of informed data that students at the university level are similarly influential.

The Interactive Effects

Where change has been effective in terms of having lasted over time and having become institutionalized, it is evident that the combined interactive effects of all these factors have been at work. No single factor can have much effect upon an institution as complex, bureaucratic and entrenched as a faculty of education. External pressure even when supported by government legislation is ineffective unless accompanied by other factors such as the exercising of power within the institution and the presence of key players. Single individuals or groups within a faculty, however energetic they might be or however worthwhile their particular innovation, can have little long term effect without other factors working in conjunction with them.

Summary and Conclusion

In conclusion then, what are the lessons for survival? Our analysis led to five conclusions regarding the factors that must be taken into account in planning for changes in faculties of education.

LESSON #1. In planning for reform in teacher education one must also plan for the change process that will implement such reform. However trite and obvious this statement might appear, its importance is not matched by attention given to it. Reform cannot be decreed in teacher education any more than it can be decreed in any other organization. Faculty members may possess great skills and knowledge in specific areas, but such skill and knowledge does not typically include the understanding of change nor the perceptions of how it occurs.

LESSON #2. Policy and program development along with its implementation is a very complex process which involves time to effect. This notion involves two components -- complexity and time. We were struck with the importance of both as we did our analysis. Just as faculties of education are very complex organizations, the process by which reform comes about in such organizations is equally complex. The notion of quick, easy fixes or attempts to understand the process of change or indeed the organizations themselves are likely to fall far short of providing anything of use.

LESSON #3. For change to occur a constellation of factors must be operating and a variety of change strategies being used In the previous section the importance of the interactive effects of factors working in favor of an innovation or a change. In fact, it may be that a critical mass of factors exist which, when reached, provide momentum. The same can be said about change strategies. Chinn and Bennes' categorization of change strategies was very useful in the analysis. But it was most interesting to see that where only one change strategy was being used, change did not occur, and if it did, it did not persist over time. What appeared necessary was a combination of change strategies which included power-coercive efforts, rational-empirical, and normative reeducation. In short, if governmental

legislation is in support of the prevailing message from research and if normative reeducative strategies are being used within the institution, then prospects are high that change will occur, and that it will become institutionalized.

LESSON #4. Plans for change in faculties of education must take into account their distinctive character. When the changes were analysed from the perspective of Bryden's notion of policy spiral derived from government activity, it was quite evident that faculties of education are certainly different organizations than those in government and probably vastly different than the public schools as well. The environmental influence acts very differently in faculties of education than one might expect from studying schools or governmental organizations. Faculty members tend to be more critical and entrepreneural and tend to use information and pressures in the environment to justify their own initiatives which most frequently are tied to what they believe is correct in the way of training teachers. Because faculty members see themselves as experts they distrust external pressurs unless they support their own views of what constitutes effective education. Because they enjoy academic freedom, they are able to act on their perceptions in ways that those in other institutions cannot.

LESSON #5. In terms of understanding the process of change in faculties of education both the human relations and the political relations perspective are useful. In working through the analysis, we found that the two perspectives each provided its own set of understandings of what went on. To have taken one or the other of the two approaches would have been limiting. Perhaps this stems from the simple fact that the entire process of change in faculties of education is an enormously complex activity. Thus, quick, easy fixes or attempts to understand the process are likely to fall far short of providing anything of use.

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